T/SOR/50/3/9

(1).

Intro.

19th Congress met - British people facing one of most Critical periods in History.

* The dangerous economic Situation
* Shown By shortage of manpower, out-of-date Industry - deficient prod. and adverse Balance of trade - faces Country with most Serious problems, - Great fuel Crisis 2 million out of work indicative of Gen. Situation
* The Harsh econ. difficulties are due to

(1) years of Tory missrule - Shameless Capitalist misuse of countries resources - and final Breakdown of Britains privileged position as a result of the war.

moreover, The Hold of Brit Cap on Empire Shaken By advancing Struggle of Colonial peoples and pressure of American penetration as shown by dependence on American loan

(2) In place of decisive re-alignment of Britains entire policy as the Situation demanded - Labour Govt Compromised Big business at Home and carried on Imp policy abroad. There is no adequate plan and the Imp foreign policy with its excessive Armaments and armed forces Intensifies every aspect of econ. difficulties and endangers peace of the world.

Tory reaction has used situation undermine Govt. - propagate Idea of Coalition

* While W.C. and Lab. Govt. defeated Tory plans and overcame the most immediate fuel problems — Congress warned that decisive changes in policy and composition of the Govt. are essential if in order deal with basic position and solve the Crisis in interests of the people.

The main immediate objectives before the people of this country now are.

(1) * The Solution of the fuel crisis.
- overcoming manpower shortages
- a real economic plan
- speeding up of rationalisation of Key Ind
- and economic control over against all monopolist Stranglehold and vested interest

(2) Speed up every aspect of Labour's Social policy — Raise wages — Control prices reduce profits and decisively raise standards of living of the people.

(3) Change Imp. Foreign Pol. — defeat attempts rebuild Tarism and reaction withdraw British troops from Greece, Egypt and Palestine — cut down armed forces — Strengthen World peace.

(4) Finally Smash all Tory coalition attempts and by United pressure of Lab bros. Bring about decisive reorganisation of Lab Govt to Achieve these Aims.

Pollitt posed these Alternatives

(1) Either we reorganise the Government Drastically Change its policy; go forward along the great path of Social and economic reorganisation, breaking the power of monopoly, building up planned economy and establishing close Co-operation with the Soviet Union and the New democracies and the advancing Colonial peoples

or

(2) We Sink to dependence on American monopolist reaction, Surrender to monopolies at home, Succumb to our own immediate crisis, intensified By a depression Spreading from America and become engulfed in a war as the outpost and Vulnerable advance base of American reaction Against European Democracy.

* The is no middle way.
C. P The defender of people
Cap Class Shaky but most experienced and Cunning in the world
Until W. C. Has power - Cap Class always finds way out of difficulties.

Social democracy - Saw Confusion
creates disunity - end up in alliance with Class enemy.

The Root Cause of the present Emergency lies in the fact that manpower being misused Bolster up reactionary foreign Policy.

In November 1946 1,500, in Armed forces (480,000 before war) a direct loss of over £300,000,000 to national income.

400,000 in betting Pools & luxury Industries
290,000 people living unearned Incomes of £200 and over a year amounting to £220 millions

C.P. Plan and the Situation

Congress put forward short and long term plan to rescue economy of country.

The reasons for fuel Crisis were.

1. Delay in nationalising mines
2. unsatisfactory composition of the Coal board.
3. Gambled on weather during Jan. & Feb.
4. Compromise policy towards big business especially foreign Policy.
5. Lack of faith in the creative powers and political understanding of W.C. and political

This is How the Coal problem Should be tackled.

1. * There must be firmer Control of the Industry in the hands of the miners and labour movement.
   * A majority of trade union leaders on the Coal Boards.

* An emergency committee of representatives of the miners, Govt, managers and deputies with a leading miner as chairman, empowered to carry through measures to solve the crisis; a leading member of the N.U.M. to go on the Cabinet Cttee of nine; Regional Emergency Ctees on the same pattern; Pit Consultative Councils, with workers fully informed of plans and facts to report to Regional Emergency Ctees

Party in all seriousness put forward target of 220 million tons against Govt 200.

(2) Attract 50,000 more men to pits By.

* £6 minimum wage — Bonus rates to add at least 25% above time rates — Income Tax reductions — increased Rations of bread, meat, paints goods, Chocolate and Sweets, Boots and Shoes, furnishings, fruit, cigarettes and Tobacco — goods in short supply to go to mining areas first. — Improve bus & transport Services Top priority for Housing including prefabs with a Volunteer Mobile building labour force Training in every pit — £5 disability pensions and allowances for children — retirement pensions at 55 — A miner's medical Service — more research into ~~mining~~ treatment and prevention of mining diseases.

on this basis manpower could, not from foreign levies but from our own folk"

* Miners who have left the Industry should be asked to come back in the present emergency and their present jobs guaranteed when they return.
  - T.U.C. should be called on to recruit Volunteers for the pits

(3) Mining Machinery

Congress demanded "The most drastic measures to organise the engineering Industry for the rapid output of mining machinery."
Export of machinery needed by our mines must be banned.

(4) Transport.

Top priority for Coal trains
Cut passenger traffic Cut out luxury travel
we cannot wait till we get through the rigmarole of Nationalisation
The Railways should be requisitioned now to improve their efficiency

(5) Priority Allocation.

Allocate Coal to the most efficient firms and priority productions and to domestic Consumers only until the problem is solved.

These are our immediate proposals.

Party recognises that full planning is impossible while Capitalism still basis of our economy, But certain important Steps can be taken

First a planning Commission must be set up including Trade Unionists and Technical experts as well as Civil Servants and Industrialist

* Commission should have Sub-Commission comprising men and women with Ind experience in each of the main Branches of Industry

* First task of Commission set targets for Six Key Industries — Coal, agriculture, Steel, power, Bld materials and textiles.

* The Engineering Industry must be mobilised behind the re-equipment plan under a Comprehensive Scheme Giving Priorities

* Raw materials must be strictly Controlled Black market activities Severely punished price controls tightened Profits investigated and ability production increased.

MANPOWER must be attended to priority tasks By Higher wages, Shorter ~~Hours~~ working week, Better welfare facilities, equal pay for equal work, day nurseries and Clinics women must not be allowed to drift away from Industry.

DISTRIBUTION must also be planned
- The part in planning could be set by
- The Co-operative movement.
- First preference should be given the Co-op movement in Supplies, licences and equipment.

TAXATION must be used to aid Govts objectives - Should give relief to W.C. provide incentives to production and at
- Same time improve distribution of wealth between the Classes,
- A profits Tax should be introduced at once

HOUSING must be assisted By drastic measures to obtain materials, introduce Substitutes, and strict control of prices.
- Timber should be obtained from the Soviet Union Scandinavia and the Baltic countries.

Agriculture should have a 1948 Target of 3 billion acres of wheat and the maintenance of at least the present area of crops.
- Higher wages, abolition of the tied Cottages and better village amenities would help attract labour force.

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY must establish closer relations with other planned economies in Europe, organised well in advance so that our plans fits in with theirs.

Nationalisation can play an important role in planning and democratic development

- Communists know that nationalisation is not Socialism under present conditions

* But could mean a great advance of Democracy. a real step forward towards making Industry serve the needs of the people.

* But what wont happen if hand over management of nationalised Industries to officials headed by ex-directors of the firms taken over who are opposed to political aims of W.C.

* The Unions should demand Joint Prod. Board in Nationalised and all other Industries.
  - The difficulty of convincing some workers of the need for Increased prod. understandable
  - But without Increased prod. many working conditions and Social gains would be Jeopardised
  - and Britain becomes isolated from Rest of Progressive Europe.

* But Increased Prod. must mean more for workers and less for the rich.

"We oppose the Governments proposals to solve the economic problems and bring production into line with purchasing power by freezing wages (except in a few priority Industries) and leaving profits out of the picture.

* Profits rose in 1946 5% above 1945. They are more than 20% above 1943 Still rising
  - A cut of 10% in 1945 profits would give enough money to increase Industrial wages by Something like 10% all round.

* Trade Unions in Nationalised Industries would hinder National plan and advance to Socialism if Held back demands for improved wages and Conditions in mistaken fear that these embarass Labour Govt.

* not need Increased wages mean Increased prices price controls can be applied and the profit margin narrowed.
  * Employers compelled maintain profits By increasing efficiency.

* Trade Union functions not on defend wages and Conditions and better them.
  - But also take Constructive part in planning and organising production & Industry

* Production Problems should be Hammered out in T.U. Branches, district and C.C.s
  - without this no real extension of W.C. Democracy

* we must have T.U. Unity.
  Aim at one Union for all workers in a Nationalised Industry and more democratic elections to T.U. executives & G.C. of T.U.C.

* With regard to disputes

" We shall urge the workers to use negotiating machinery in the interest of Continuity of production, But when these methods fail to win acceptable demands, we shall give the workers our fullest support in any strike action which they feel compelled to take ".

opposition was expressed at Congress to policy outlined By Welwyn Gdn City and Hereford Branches.

* Essence of Resolution was we should oppose Labour Govt. Intensify Crisis accused party of abandoning marxism played fast and loose Dictatorship of Proletariat

* Marxism rejects theory of Spontaneity and the Conception that Empty Bellies aid W.C in pursuit of power,

* at height of Crisis what would have happened if opposed lab. Govt. Tories were taking advantage of Govt wobbling Daily Herald

* if party and miners opposed Govt Shinwell thrown him was prepared Coalition or Victory of Tories crazy with Pol. Victory

* What Happened miners through Govt declared Support for Government
  - Daily worker only paper stood by Government and attacked tories.
  - Govt Rallied – But party Demands Compromising ministers dropped and advance against monopoly Cap.

* What would happen if Hindered prod – Crisis

Catastrophic drop in Standard of living
unemployment – wage cuts
greater dependance on America
Isolated from how Demo States.

* Crisis for people not for Capitalism

Cap. Hates full Employment
wage increases – monopoly fears
Technical efficiency in Industry.
reduced Hours and Amenities
fears J.P.C as devel fears Holy water,

* By Increasing Prod. W.C takes

Initiative out of Cap. hands place
W.C. at Head of nation – increase
control of Industry. – Time Ldrship of nation

* General election – Put forward C.P. Candidates
But Support labour elsewhere
fight Tories and agents in Lab. Mov.

* Rejection of Amendment tribute
Unity & Ideological Clarity of Party
5 voted for Amendment,

~~while defending Lab Govt. Against Tories C.P. demands reorganisation of Govt to meet Crisis — Ministers seeking to Compromise with big Business must be dropped. The Government must be strengthened with men prepared to Smash Imperialist monopoly and vested interests~~

Fight for peace.

* The war Has fundamentally undermined position of Britain as Imp Power.
- It Has dominated 1/4 of Globe by force
- used overseas tribute to pay for imports
- while monopolists Built up fortunes at Home
- neglected our Home Industries & Agriculture

The national liberation movement Challenging grip on Colonies — American Competion for Colonial markets too much for weakened economy.

Dominions too emerging as Imp powers moving away mother Country closer to american Imp.

During war not only were exports restricted merchant fleet reduced By 1/4.
gold and dollar reserves depleted and £1,118 billions overseas Securities Sold to pay for Supplies.

moreover Transformed from Creditor to debtor nation to time of £3,500 billions (India £1,000 millions alone.)

* This position reflects itself on dependance on American loan – We Export 50% of Goods from America and export 40% of goods to America.

* We have thus become Junior partners in Anglo American Alliance. But Britain Became more + more Junior.

* Mr Wallace B. Phillips, President of American Chamber of Commerce Says.

"American intends to become a formidable Competitor in world Trade. Great Britain must face a very stiff fight and it is not difficult to foresee a period of a few years after the war when International trade relations may be strained"

when we Consider that prod. per man hour in America is 3 times greater than Britain we are in Bad position to Compete.

* By tying ourselves to America leave ourselves open to Backwash of American Slump – every Body predicts except except – Craxi - Comic Buffoon – Truman.

* A Slump in America would mean less demand for Raw materials ~~Export from~~ which British + Dutch Colonies, The British dominions and South American States Supply to United States – Since they are our Best Customers – result would be unemployment in Export Trade – Later all Trade

The fight for peace.

~~Amer~~

Peace & But Trade & Prod depend on ending Imp foreign Policy immediate demob. excessive armed forces.

American Big Capital Aims domination of world — Contradictions american Cap. forced look markets — residency legates — Greece foothold Europe — Turkey — other end Palestine — ~~[illegible]~~ absorption of Empire attention to Italy — Mediterranean american Puddle

link up Austria & German Zone.

Strategy to ~~penetrate~~ ~~former~~ pressure ~~on Britain~~ win colonial markets prevent victory ~~in~~ of Colonial peoples.

In Europe turn Back wheel of History defeat new democracies

Greece, Austria Western Zone Germany (main Base) Italy attention.

Britains resources unable to meet needs of Bevins Imp Ambitions — does dirty work, now very junior Role.

Labour Govt By failing abandon Tory foreign policy — Aligning Britain with Aggressive Aims of American Trusts.

~~Brit~~ trying to maintain Imp traditions no ~~Brit~~ longer afford. ~~Brit~~ Army 3 times Size of prewar to maintain grip 400,000,000 people in Colonial Empire.
Last Year Advance Balance of Trade £450 mill.
Same time spent £350 mill abroad forces overseas.

Rising militant movements of Colonial people

Long way out Anglo American Bloc,
Junior Partner American Drive World domination.

But forces of peace + Democracy Stronger than those making for war.

American fully understands Strength of S.U. new Demo States.

at Congress
Germany Unity Party 1,200,000.
Poland, 600,000.
Czecho-Slovak, 1,000,000,
Hungary.
Yugo-Slavia.
Greece Party leading fight against reaction.

India Africa. Palestine Jews Arab,
Ireland See W, N.U.

Trade Agreements S.U. Swedish Denmark
Agreement Czecho-Slovak + Poland.

1 The unanimity of the great Powers as the essential basis for peace.

2 The destruction of the last vestiges of Fascism and the punishment of all aggressors against peace.

3 Peace to be organised on the basis of the full sovereignty and independence of all peoples.

4 Full support for disarmament, the withdrawal of all armed forces from non-enemy countries and prohibition of the use of atomic energy for war purposes.

5 Determination to carry through the denazification of Germany, break-up of large estates and trusts in the Western zone, and establishment of a unified and popular democracy and an economy capable of peaceful development.

6 Especial vigilance to ensure the denazification of Austria and to organise there a firm basis for the development of a popular democracy; and at the same time to prevent Britain and America from using Austria as a base for reactionary intentions against the Soviet Union and new democratic States in Central and Eastern Europe.

7 The ending of British financial, military and political support of reaction in Greece

8 Cessation of British diplomatic and trade relations with Franco Spain; British support for U.N. action to end the Franco regime, and aid in the establishment of a representative democratic Government in Spain.

9 An end to British imperialist policy in India and all colonial and mandated territories.

10 Immediate demobilisation of our present excessive armed forces; far-reaching democratic reforms in all the Forces as the basis for compulsory military service; changes in the Foreign Office so that people with a consistent democratic outlook can act as Britain's representatives abroad.

(17)

planning economy.

...min 5 year plan
4 year plan France.
3 year plan
Slovakia 2 year plan
...ovia 5 year plan
...a 2 year plan
...y 3 year plan
... Dev. plan.
... Series of Plans Industrialisation & Electrification.

...ordinating our plans Blow for
...ing Europe — and avoid slump.

...e do not stand for a policy
...g to form of a closed trading
...f Countries committed to a planned
...y. Such an attempt would break
...f only because of the present
... of Supplies within Countries
... might be likely to form such
...e and the strong desire of such
...ies for American loans as an
...o reconstruction

Britain Key position

Delegates at Conference look to us.

Europe is planning economy.

- Soviet union 5 year plan
- Monnet 4 year plan France.
- Poland 3 year plan
- Czecko-Slovakia 2 year plan
- Yugoslavia 5 year plan
- Bulgaria 2 year plan
- Hungary 3 year plan
- Albania Dev. plan.
- Rumania Series of Plans Industrialisation & Electrification.

By co-ordinating our plans Blow for re-Building Europe — and avoid slump.

But "we do not stand for a policy of trying to form of a closed trading Block of Countries committed to a planned economy. Such an attempt would break down if only because of the present shortage of Supplies within Countries which might be likely to form such a bloc and the strong desire of such Countries for American loans as an aid to reconstruction

Britain Key position

Delegates at Conference look to us.

Must Build C.P. and Y.C.L. as weapon of W.C.

Y.C.L.

In Past Labour Movement neglected.
Congress demanded and Isolation of reformist.
and Isolation of Y.C.L from party.
3 billion Youth democratic political force.
Youth the future of Country.

Caregivers Report Book,
Burlington Branch Mar. 16th 1944.

Alex McDougall.

need for Education Anarchism
better Sale of Party literature.

Sum up.

Congress Close to people.
W.C. find way out of crisis
25 Del. 5 messages.
C.P.s 62 Countries
W.F.T.U. 60,000,000.
Congress Unique.

Big Help or Riskiness.

C.P. every parties in Europe.

Leadership to Empire Conference.
relations with Dominions

Dunkirk spirit. — Quote Pollitt

Party Build Same way P.W. readers.

Questions. (1) ~~39~~ 39 people Present.

~~(1)~~ ~~30~~ Industries

Discussion. Led Donaldson.

Youth Resolution one of main resolution.
future of young people depends on Youth.
attract Youth Industries. - Better Condition.
1950 2 mil new voters.
Young Lovers in Glasgow.
Party directly responsible for Y.C.C.
Challenge T.V. Youth Parliament. Service etc.
8 Day. challenge a week.
Claude Alexanders - 6 - 25 T.B.
6 dozen Sold at factory.

Miner.

Conscription stood en masse.
Young people refused go into forces
Help change policy.

Spoonful of Tar
Bowel of Honey

a. Campbell.
airis
miners Union
& C.R. & D.W.
Railway & Transport
F.P.
unable.
Production.

McAllister

Apprentice Ship in Industry.
System needs over Hauling.
reduce period of apprentice Ship.

Palestine

What The main Issues of the mass political movement Amongst people?

(1) Consistent struggle Second Front and unified strategy

(2) The Fight Against Partisans and Badoglio and the Reactionary Polish Govt

~~(3)~~ Therefore Mass Political Fight of the British people been a Key factor in development of the alliance

Lets Consider in more Detail the Moscow Conference and the Teheran Agreement

Moscow Conf

(1) Military Strategy

Full frank discussions to shorten the war.

basis for closest military Co-operation in the future

not yet complete Agreement on 2nd Front

(2) General Security

Continue collaboration in Peace.

To maintain peace and security of the peoples.

What Main Points Teheran

(1) Concerted our Plans for Destruction of the German Forces
Complete Agreement Decapitation of operations undertaken East, West, and South
(a) German Forces - no compromise
(b) unified Strategy

(2) An Enduring peace - good will
Peace overwhelming masses peoples and banish the scourge and Terror of war for many generations

(3) The political economic and social welfare of the people.
(4) Loved family of Democratic nations - Large and Small

What basis for Ensuring that

(a) German, Italian and Japanese Imperialism smashed

(b) Tremendous Democratic Liberation peoples Europe and the East = Entire new world education
Overwhelming strengthening of the peoples in the Relationship of armed forces

What Developments since Teheran
in International Collaboration

that which is not "false" is "true". Let it be so. Will it be argued, when, as is often proved in practice, accuracy can be attained (as in giant telescope reflectors) to within limits of one hundred millionth part of an inch, that no sort of accuracy is attainable? Put it, if you will, that any given thing is accurate "only" to an extent. Equally true it is that the said thing is false only to an extent. Why do the Pragmatists and Subjectivists fasten upon the 100,000,000th of an inch in falsity and treat as non-existent the 99,999,999 parts in each inch of accuracy?"

"Their motive is, in the actual social relations in which they arise and argue, clearly apparent. Directly or indirectly, or both, they are concerned to find weapons with which to combat the rising forces of revolution at whose head stands Dialectical Materialism."

"Their excuse is that it is "contradictory", and therefore "illogical", to say that a thing can be both True and false, exact and inexact, at one and the same time. Be it so; but let it be observed firstly that this is an objection, not to the facts or to the practice, but wholly and solely to the terminology in which those facts are stated. Secondly, be it observed that the "Hegelianism" involved in the coexistence of opposites (true an false etc.) is not of theoretical but of practical origin. The gauger aforesaid does use "opposite" gauges, and in practice approximations to accuracy are attainable in no other way. It is not the fault of Hegel that a navigator achieves accuracy in his reckoning by using three chronometers. (If he used only one he would be at the mercy of its temporary or permanent aberrations; if only two, he would be unable to determine which had varied; by using three he gets a reliable mean.)"

"These things arise, and must inevitably, from the practical basis of the discrimination between Theory and Practice, Subject and Object. And the whole subjectivist argument is an endeavour to smuggle in, by logical sleight of hand, a complete divorce of Theory from Practice, and return to the sophistication and mystery-mongering

— that that divorce makes possible.

are false; all are only relatively true but their ~~validity~~ relativity is not absolute since they are all of absolute validity within their relation, which is a persisting relation and so far absolute. The relative is only relatively relative."

"Relativity is true, but only relatively so, and the problem of practice is to distinguish in every percept, and every concept, conclusion and judgement, the respects in which it possesses absoluteness of truth, and the relative truth of appearances only. (P.61-62)

"Take an example. A worker in a factory is ~~to~~ set to gauge steel balls for use in ball-bearings. These must be of the right size or they are of no use. What is the right size? It is recognised that, in practice, absolute accuracy is unattainable, but it is possible, and the gauger does in fact, by the use of upper and lower-limit gauges, sort out as "right" those that do not vary beyond a prescribed limit — in this case one of the 10,000th part of an inch plus or minus."

"Another worker, a scientific instrument maker, may be set to produce a result accurate within limits of a 100,000TH plus or minus. Another, in another factory, may be allowed limits as wide as 1000th.

In wood-working factories limits of one thirty-second of an inch would be "fine" limits; by engineering standards they would be "coarse". And so on."

"Now observe firstly — absolute accuracy is recognised to be in practice unobtainable. Does that mean that no sort of accuracy, no approximation to accuracy, is attainable at all? As is self-evident in the examples given above, absolute accuracy is, like the Euclidean line or point, an abstraction reached by mind by the mental elimination of variations which in practice can be eliminated only more or less.

"Absolute" accuracy being then unattainable — except conceptually — does this mean that nothing is attained but error?

By metaphysical standards that which is not "true" is "false";

the case."

Let us take a concrete instance"

"To all appearances the sun rises daily in the east, and, after ascending to its meridian, sinks daily in the west. Taking appearances at their face value we could say, "As true as the sun will rise in the morning."

"But this truth is admittedly that of appearance only. We know that the apparent movement of the sun is due to the real movement of the earth.

"Is the first statement, then, absolutely false? No, it records a true experience, truly observed; moreover, its content is valid — the sun does change its position daily and in a regular way measured from any fixed point on the earth's surface. Given the earth's surface as a point of view, and the essence of the observation the changing relation between the two objects (the observer and the sun) as a fact absolute within that relation."

"But only so within those limits. To an observer on the moon both the earth and the sun would seem to move around it. True to the content, change of relative position, would be correctly apprehended — but there would be a failure in each case to establish a harmony between these correctly apprehended objective facts and other facts which demonstrate that their form of appearance — their phenomenal mode of presentation — was capable of mis-interpretation.

"From yet another point of view — that of an observer on the surface of the sun — the movements of the earth would be similarly apprehended correctly as to content, but inversely as to form. From the point of view of the "fixed" stars the sun and the solar system with it are moving as one group in a definite direction. From the point of view of the earth the sun is fixed."

"All these statements considered abstractly — as absolutely-absolute

objective reality" only in the form of the object or Anschauung, but not as human sensuous activity, practice - not subjectively", we see now to what he is alluding".

" Idealism had developed the active side (of the thought-relation of Object-Subject), but "only abstractly" - only in the sense of developing the general laws of Thought, of logic and dialectics, and marking the specific limitations of human brainwork. The Materialists had never developed, and the Idealists were debarred by their Idealism from developing, the active side of actual flesh and blood human practice through objects." (P. 55-56)

Under the heading "Relativity, Absolute and Relative." Lenin

" Every formulation of Truth made by mankind is of necessity not a statement of the Truth as it appears. So much is self-evident. A man's knowledge, however much it may be genuine knowledge, is still only human knowledge. It is at best only so much of the Truth as man in the then existing conditions can attain."

" So far, then, only relative Truth is attainable by man - relative in quantity as compared with what was known generally yesterday, and that which will, most likely, be known tomorrow; and relative in quality since the significance even of what is thoroughly known depends upon its connection with other things not so thoroughly (or, possibly, at all) well known. Moreover it is Truth of a relation - that between Men and Things and Things among themselves as viewed from the standpoint of Mankind."

" But does this mean that human knowledge is absolutely relative? That the Truth attained by man is as a whole and in all its details not at all truly True? That it has only such "Truth" as is possessed by a mirage, an imagination, a dream vision - that of a fictional substitute for, or symbol of, Reality?"

" A whole group of related schools contend today that this is

of Sensationalism under special conditions towards Materialism. Recognising the a-priority of space, time, and causality, etc., Kant seems to be turning towards Idealism. Consistent Materialists and consistent Idealists .... criticise him for this inconsistency"

Jackson P. 53-54 (P. 163 Lenin: Materialism and Empirio Criticism)

"Kants principles compelled him, in refuting the Sensationalists (Locke etc.), to avow that we do not perceive qualities, as such, separately; the whole perceiving consciousness active in perception is modified as a whole by the whole of the external reality. Hegel treated these two "wholes" as the positive and negative aspects of one developing whole, and so reached Absolute Idealism."

"Kant had made the opposition of Object and Subject the pivot of his whole system - but, inconsistently, he had conceived that their union was active and result-producing only on one side, the side of Subjectivity. Hegel removed the inconsistency and built his system on the conception that it was not in the "pure" object or in the "pure" Subject that the Truth lay, but in the active inter-relation between them, which relation produced a progressive transformation both of subject and of object. On the plane of Idealism this conception led straight to mysticism, and through mysticism to the negation of all rational thought. Transferred, in an inverse form, to the plane of Materialism, this led straight to the Marxian world-conception". (P. 65)

"The incidentals of Hegels logical procedure, so far as they concern Dialectical Materialism, we will deal with as they arise in the course of the argument. Here we need do no more than summarise the results in relation to Marxs First Theis on Feuerbach."

"When Marx affirms that "all hitherto existing materialism" conceived

camps.

"One camp maintained that before there were apples there was the Apple; that before there were jackanapes there was the Jackanapes; that before there were lewd and greedy monks there were the Monk, Lewdness, and Greed; that before there were feet to kick and backsides to be kicked the Kick in the Arse existed from all eternity in the bosom of God.

"The other camp replied that on the contrary apples gave man the idea of the Apple; jackanapes the idea of the Jackanapes, monks the idea of monks, greed and lewdness, and that the kick in the backside existed only after being duly given and received.

"The players grew heated and came to fisticuffs. I was an adherent of the second party, which satisfied my reason better, and which was, in fact, condemned by the Council of Soissons." (Anatole France, Revolt of the Angels)

"With inimitable pungency Anatole France here drives home the fact that what was satisfactory to reason was seldom satisfactory to the Church authorities, and the fact, too, that the basic issues in dispute between Idealists and Materialists — those of the origin of ideas, and their validity as reflections of external reality — were developed forms of issues raised originally within the Church in the course of the development of dogmatic theology and casuistry. (P 46-47)

"The principal feature of the philosophy of Kant is an attempted reconciliation of Materialism and Idealism, a compromise between the claims of both, a fusion of heterogeneous and contrary philosophic tendencies into one system. When Kant admits that something outside of us — a thing-in-itself — corresponds to our perceptions he seems to be a materialist. When he, however, declares this thing-in-itself to be unknowable, transcendent, "trans-intelligible" he appears to be an Idealist. Regarding experience as the only source of our knowledge, Kant seems to be turning towards Sensationalism, and by way

Absolute Idealism into Marx's Dialectical Materialism". (P. #1.)

"Once it is conceded that objective, material nature is historically or logically presupposed in any speculative thinking about nature or man, or thinking itself — the basic contention of Materialism is admitted. Alternatively, any attempt to deprive nature of its primacy, and to elevate "spirit," conciousness, or thinking, from the status of something derived into something primary over, or co-primary with, nature — all such attempts are Idealisms, in that the deprive nature of both its objectivity and its materiality."

"Engels notes a development of the issue from its above-noted "primary" form:

> " The question of the relation of thinking and being has yet another side: in what relation do our thoughts about the world surrounding us stand to this world itself? ... Are we able in our ideas and notions of the real world to produce a correct reflection of reality? This in philosophical language is called the question of the 'identity of thinking an being'. — Engels: Ludwig Feuerbach P.31

Jackson. P. #3

" A comparison with the middle ages will help to bring out the dialistic nature of the situation — of this return to the past, but on a higher plane. Anatole France, the master ironist hits of these mediaval disputes with inimitable (and malicious) skill.

" While the little children played a hopscotch under the Abbey walls our friends the monks devoted themselves to another game equally unprofitable at which, nevertheless, I gained them — for one must kill time .....

" Our game was a game of words which pleased our course yet subtle minds, set schools fulminating against school, and put all christendom in an uproar. We formed ourselves into two opposing

Theses, Antitheses, Syntheses".

"The first group, comprising the first three Theses, deal with Feuerbach's materialism "an sich" - as such; along with "all hitherto existing materialism".

"The second group, comprising Theses four to Seven inclusive, deal with Feuerbach's materialism "fur sich" - as it is for itself, in its special characteristics, particularly its theory of Religion."

"The third group, comprising the remaining four Theses, deal with Feuerbach's materialism "an-und-fur sich" - from both aspects in synthesis. That is to say, they develop the logical consequences of the examination and present Marx's dialectical materialism conclusion from this examination." (P. 34-35)

"Since the Idealists, each in his order of succession, have all occupied themselves with material facts, however idealistically they may have interpreted them, the facts remain facts, and material facts, despite all the idealistic disguise the system of interpretation may have thrown over them. Conversely the Materialists, each in his turn, have all been concerned with the problem of the relation of Thinking to Being. They have therefore been concerned with Thoughts, Ideas, reasoning - with mental operations; hence it follows that, as was humanly inevitable, every system of materialism had its ideal content - contained in fact specific idealisms, despite all the efforts of the materialists to reach a consistently materialist interpretation of their subject - matter."

"Feuerbach broke with the idealist system of Hegel - and that was good. But in returning to the materialism of the eighteenth century he returned to the idealism contained therein in solution, which was bad. Yet Feuerbach himself was a means of asserting this dialectical development of philosophy, since he has historically this very significance - that (in Hegelian terminology) he was a moment in the dialectical transmutation of Hegel's

human consciousness.

"Hegel affirmed that the self-movement of the universal whole constantly begot, by means of the integrating interaction of its differentiated details, a connected and progressive series of new forms. Granted says the materialist, provided you concede that these new forms are forms and modes of material existence, and that one of the material activities in this process of perpetual creation is that of men themselves. Thus it was that Hegelianism, the completest and most systematic negation of materialism ever developed, begot it own negation in Dialectical Materialism" (P. 27-28 my own underlining Auth.)

"In Countering this assumption (i.e. that the world-order was something fundamentally fixed and immutable: that change, motion, action and reaction were all incidental only, aspects of the fleeting unreal appearance of things. Auth.) with the affirmation, "the point is to change it" Marx not only shifted the focus of interest and the criterion of reality from the inner world of thought to the outer world of things and material activities: he affirmed likewise (by implication) that the interpretation of the world must be changed yet again, and this time with the aid of, and in tension with practice, to one based upon fundamental changeability of reality. That reality could in fact not only change, but be changed by man, was the fact affirmed in the Eleventh Theris. And this, far from being a mere superficial repudiation of all "theory", was ~~in fact~~ the most radical revolution in philosophical theory it was possible to achieve." (P. 34)

II "Turning now to the Theris, we have first to note that the constitute a series in three groups; and that this series has a clear affinity with the Hegelian logical progression of

Firstly, being an Idealist, Hegel interpreted the canon of the Identity of Being and Thinking as meaning that the logical activity of conjoined analysis and synthesis is the true essence of the Universal Unity – the universe as a whole.

Secondly, Hegel, perceiving that a thing understood was qualitatively a totally different thing from the same thing not understood, saw that for us the logical process of understanding did in fact create new things!"

"Combining these two principles synthetically into one, Hegel reached his famous conception of the universe as in process of perpetual self-creation by means of the logical operation of discriminating itself into This and not-This (Affirmation and Negation; Thesis and Antithesis) and re-establishing its unity in a new developed synthesis (the Negated Negation)." (P. 24)

Jackson here says that Hegels method only needed to be stood right side up to become a consistent and thorough-going method for materialism. (and)

"Hegel started with the axiom of the "identity" (i.e. the complete reciprocal co-relation) of Being and Thinking. Agreed! says the materialist, provided you recognise that Thinking reflects Being and not vice versa Hegel affirmed that the logical process was an activity. Agreed! says the materialist, provided you recognise that it is the subjective form of appearance of an objective activity, that of a material brain and sense-organs functioning in a living flesh-and-blood human being in a material universe, all of which are pre-supposed in all possible acts of thinking, feeling, or willing."

"Hegel affirmed that the general form, or "law", of the logical process was a movement from absolutely undifferentiated unity to "absolutely" differentiated unity. Granted, says the materialist – provided that you recognise that what is being differentiated is (a) on the one side the objective material universe, and (b) on the other side its reflection in

Concerning negation of negation, Jackson says.
"Terrifying though this phrase may sound, mystifying to the last degree as it becomes in the hands of an Idealist, this formula is none the less capable of a simple and, what is more, an illuminating explanation. Light begins to break through the mystery as soon as it is seen ~~that~~
(a) that it summarises the conclusion of a logical operation;
(b) that it is preceded by a process where formula is in turn that of Spinoza, "all determination is negation".
What does this latter phrase mean? What it says: that all distinguishing of things in thought is a ~~det~~ de-term-ination, a setting of limits to that which the "thing" is. Or, otherwise stated, all distinguishing of things is an act of mentally separating a thing from that which it is not. Thus all "determination", which is particularisation, consists of "negating" or breaking up an "undifferentiated generalisation".
Furthermore, the process of discriminating one particular thing from a general mass is simultaneously a process of distinguishing the counter-particularity of that from which it is distinguished. Hence (and it is here that Hegel's real contribution begins, all the foregoing being common to him and his predecessors) - hence a full comprehension of thing involves comprehending it simultaneously in two opposite ways, namely, as distinct from and, at the same time, as one with that from which it is distinguished. Hence all logic consists in the performance, with due circumspection, of this operation of negating unity by resolving it into multiplicity (aka analysis) and recreating it by distinguishing the unity persisting in multiplicity (synthesis).

(P. 26)

And Marx and Engels learned how to do this, aquired their own distinctive theory, as a result of participating in the proletarian Socialist and Communist movement of their own day. Marx and Engels transformed first themselves and thereafter the revolutionary proletarian struggle by pratical participation therein. They aquired their dialectical theory in the course of, and with the aid of, their dialectical practice. Thus Marxism is at one and the same time a cause and a consequence of the revolutionary proletarian struggle.

The writings of Marx and Engels placed in chronological order illustrate this. They fall into three main groups.

(1) Works connected with the revolutionary struggles of the period of 1843-51.

(2) Works of theoretical preparation for further struggles: the critical analysis of the existing order.

(3) Works connected with the First International and the revival of the revolutionary proletarian struggle from 1864 onwards. After Marx's death in 1883 Engels carried on the work of developing the re-establishment of the International.

(P. 23)

"Critics and revisers of Marxism always begin with Marx's and Engels's intellectual dependence upon the philosophy of Hegel. They forget that for every deed, as for every man, there is both a father and a mother. Every deed requires not only a doer, with a will to do, but the object upon which the deed is executed. Every thought requires not only a thinker, but the object of his thought. That Marx and Engels took their departure from Hegel is as undoubted as it is important. But what is of infinitely greater importance is the fact that what they took from Hegel was - their departure"

(P. 25)

existence, at once become themselves 'foci' of further action and reaction from which 'newer' things and formations result.

"To the metaphysician things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated; — are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation, fixed, rigid, given once and for all"..... "Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehend things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connections, their concatenation, motion, origin, and ending." (Engels: Socialism P. 31, 34)

Dialectical materialism is therefore that sort of materialism (A) which has been freed from metaphysical and Idealist suppositions; (B) which treats the world of nature (including men) as in constant process of developing transformation; and (C) which therefore manages its thinking in a correspondingly developing way - proceeding to view all things from the contrasted aspects of their many-sidedness, their unity-in-diversity, and their developmental sequences, external and internal."

P. 21-22

"Marx and Engels themselves are an illustration of their own dialectical mode of reasoning."

"They are known to us as the founders of the theory upon which the whole modern Socialist and Communist movement bases (more or less clearly and consistently) its practice."

"In that sense marxism," "the science of the revolutionary proletarian struggle", is a cause of the modern Socialist and Communist movement."

"But Marx and Engels were not born marxists; neither did they invent the proletariat or its struggles. What they did was to give to a relatively blind and instinctive struggle the theory which converted it into a conscious struggle with a specific plan and purpose."

→ contd.